15: U.S. Navy--32 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 482, 462, 464

"Hours are long and, because of the abundance of unskilled man-power, few draft animals and little machinery are used in transport. Women and children and men pull carts and furnish motive power for the narrow-gauge push-car lines. Only the women of the Hakka Formosan-Chinese work in the fields, however. Women and children are employed extensively in tea-picking and sorting and in the ubiquitous small household industries."

15: U.S. Navy--32-33 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 462, 466, 883

"The percentage of women among the total number of [33] employed persons in various industries is indicated by the following figures:

Table 25: Percentage of Industrial Workers who are Women.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Textile industry | 73.4 | Chemicals | 26.4 |
| Metals | 10.6 | Lumber | 5.8 |
| Machinery | 1.2 | Foodstuffs | 34.8 |
| Ceramics | 18.2 | Printing | 12.9 |
| 'Others' | 68.2 | | |

The textile industry is negligible in Taiwan. If it is excluded, women numbered approximately 30.6 percent of the people employed in Taiwan in 1936. Women and children labor in the mines and are used to provide motive power for wagons, push-car lines and construction gangs. The wages for women are usually about half those for men. Human life as well as labor is cheap, and the employers in Taiwan are notoriously careless of safety and sanitary conditions in industry."

"Japanese economists argue that the prosperous condition of the villagers makes it difficult for industry in Taiwan to secure female workers, so that in 1935, for example, women made up [114] only 30.6 per cent of all workers, (1) while in Japan the proportion

1. In 1936 women made up 32.6 per cent of all workers. Kagaku kogyo nenkan, 1939.

was 47 per cent. Let us make a closer examination of the figures.

Proportion of Women in Different Industries

| | In Japan | | In Taiwan | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1935 | 1933 | 1935 | 1936 |
| Textile industry | 80.9 | 80.6 | 80.9 | 73.4 |
| Metals | 7.1 | 8.8 | 10.5 | 10.6 |
| Machinery | 8.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 1.2 |
| Ceramics | 20.6 | 13.7 | 15.2 | 18.6 |
| Chemicals | 35.1 | 23.4 | 23.4 | 26.4 |
| Lumber | 9.0 | 5.6 | 6.6 | 5.8 |
| Foodstuffs | 18.1 | 34.3 | 33.3 | 34.8 |
| Printing | 18.1 | 12.5 | 10.8 | 12.9 |
| Gas and electricity | 0.8 | — | — | — |
| Others | 51.4 | [illegible].0 | 62.2 | 68.2 |
| Total | 47.0 | 31.7 | 30.6 | 32.6 |

From this table it may be seen that in the textile and ceramic industries the percentage of women is about the same in Taiwan as in Japan; in metals, foodstuffs, and 'other' industries it is larger, while in machinery, chemicals, and printing it is smaller but is growing. The smaller percentage total (32.6 per cent in Taiwan and 47 per cent in Japan) is explained by the simple fact that in Taiwan there is no significant textile industry. If we exclude the textile industry, then in 1936 the proportion of women in industry was 30.6 per cent for Taiwan and only 18.7 per cent for Japan (2). It is no fault

2. The figure for Japan is calculated from the data of Nippon rodo nenkan, 1938.

of the Chinese women and it is not a sign of Taiwan's prosperity if the industries existing in Taiwan are less suited to women. To say, as Takahashi does, that the textile industry is absent in Taiwan because the women, being prosperous, do not want to work, is naive. Taiwan is in the sphere of the Japanese customs tariff and experiences all the pressure of Osaka and Nagoya competition; it has no cotton of its own, nor has it such good harbors and commercial organization that it could be supplied with cotton cheaper than Kobe. It is natural then [115] that the cotton industry has had no chance to develop. But, as was mentioned, in other branches of industry the proportion of women in industry is higher in Taiwan than in Japan."

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suggestion that the organization of livelihood in general had been profoundly altered under the Japanese. But any discussion of the problem very soon outruns crude data like these. Though Table 11 is comprehensive, covering all groups in the population, it lumps together people of too many kinds, and thereby hides many significant types of variation. The same material can be used more efficiently when refined by some of the controls at our disposal.

In the first place, not everyone in the population was equally well reported as to occupation. Asia being even more than the West a man's world, occupational data do not mean the same thing for males and females. Women are barred from many occupations and, whatever their duties, are not readily regarded in society as having regular employment. Whether a woman in Taiwan reported herself as being employed or not often depended on other attributes of her social position more than on the actual tasks performed—for example, whether she had yet been married, whether widowed or divorced, what work was followed by other members of her family, or simply local custom governing attitudes toward the work of women. For reasons that will be elaborated in the following chapter, we shall henceforth separate females from males in all occupational tables, under the assumption that the working activities of males more accurately reflect the composition of employment in the economy.

Omitting females from Table 12 has the effect of correcting the inflated appearance that they give to agriculture, especially in the earlier years. With this more meaningful series of observations, it is striking not merely that activities were so diversified in the beginning, but that they changed so little. In the 35 years that followed this first general census the structure of occupations among men remained about the same. By this more adequate criterion, agriculture lost almost no ground as a field of employment after 1905. Still nearly two-thirds of all working men were farmers as late as 1930, the terminal date for these figures. From Table 11 it is clear that the same thing must have been true in 1940.

And so, even including the Japanese, those who were caught up in the "industrialization" made up a minor part of all males in Taiwan. Demographically, this cardinal aspect of "economic development" was never anything but a small-scale operation.

Obviously, Table 11 and Table 12 cannot bring to light the full extent of trends accompanying events over this period. These figures indicate only shifts from one broad type of activity to another. They

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## THE DISPOSITION OF MANPOWER

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In general, activities having to do primarily with livelihood are so important in human societies that they are always subjected to some special forms of coordination. Never are they treated casually in a society, as minor points of etiquette or personal friendship may be. Much of their importance arises from the fact that the same persons who engage in them also occupy other positions of social significance. This coordination, therefore, cannot be primarily a matter of regulation within the realm of economic behavior,[10] but consists of keeping such behavior consistent with the social order. Demographically, the problem is found wherever occupational functions overlap with other roles in the same individuals.

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Two of the commonest regions of overlap in a population are with sex and age. Most of Asia, for example, is beset by such hazards to human existence that its peoples have maintained their numbers only by bringing forth abundant offspring. High fertility, which until recent centuries had been the universal offset to high mortality, has always necessitated a distinct kind of social position for women. Being the only ones capable of parturition, females in these societies come under the influence of family institutions that attach high priority and emphasis to the bearing and rearing of progeny.[11]

This circumstance has profoundly affected the part of women in economic activity. Most of the ways thought proper for an adult woman to have contact with the people beyond her family circle are in a married status. Few women escape marriage. Indeed, it is so normal an event that to pass the age of 25 unwed is considered a serious misfortune. To covet matrimony in vain does not carry with it any of the other possibilities (such as occupational careers) that exist in Western societies, and becomes a matter of anxiety if not humiliation for an entire family.

All this does not mean that women under these conditions do not work. The lot of a "home-maker" is a more laborious one in agrarian than in industrial countries, and may encompass more different sorts of particular activities from case to case. A wide range of tasks, including production of many physical commodities, is conducted as

[10] If it were, it would cease to present any problem, for it could be reduced simply to bureaucratic patterns of large-scale organizations.

[11] This does not mean that the particular family institutions are everywhere the same: such societies have long been renowned for the variety in such matters as marriage ceremonies, types of education of children, adolescent behavior and the division of labor in specific household tasks. We are not here concerned with superficial variation, but with the general features which are shared.

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659 a matter of course within the households that finally make use of
462 them—items which in industrial societies are ordinarily purchased in the market. In these activities women are occupied often from childhood to old age, and sometimes more vigorously than men. It is this economy of the household, and not real inactivity, that utilizes the efforts of females in useful pursuits but provides against their holding extra-familial occupations.

We can be certain that a goodly portion of the work done in Taiwan was concealed in the activities of women. When such is the case, estimates of manpower based on occupational data are necessarily distorted, especially when these data have been compiled without overt care to this problem. Here the only feasible procedure in measuring manpower is to exclude altogether this important segment—womanpower—and to concentrate only on the "male labor force" as representing the dominant working patterns of the population.

659 Even within the male population, however, not all of its members are eligible or able for permanent employment. Close to half of all males in Taiwan—practically all those without occupations—were consistently of ages in which employment was not customary. Age always has a great deal to do with whether a person follows an occupation or not, and often with the sort of work he may perform. Tasks that are looked upon as useful are commonly ones that infants and the aged, for example, lack the capacity for doing. In between these extremes, some males of certain ages are excluded from the labor force when sufficient value is attached to other activities such as school attendance, acquisition of special skills, patriarchy, or infirmity—either due to priority of the competing activities themselves (regardless of who performs them) or due to the kinds of persons involved.

These various factors determining employment are so closely associated with age that at any one time almost all of the men of young and middle adulthood in a population have some occupation. The exclusions are concentrated in the years of childhood and old age. For this reason it is meaningful to speak of the "population of working ages," and often more information is available about them as a whole than about the labor force itself.

*The Labor Force in Taiwan*

162 Let us continue this line of inquiry by inspecting the portions of
464 the population that are employed in relation to sex and age. With

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TABLE 17

THE LABOR FORCE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, TAIWAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Proportions of All Persons in Each Age Group Who Had an Occupation, Male and Female, 1930

| Age Groups | Taiwan (Taiwanese Only*) All Occupations | Taiwan (Taiwanese Only*) Occupied outside Agriculture | United States (All Groups) All Occupations |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Males* | | | |
| 15–19 | 85.4 | 24.4 | 47.8 |
| 20–24 | 96.4 | 33.6 | 89.9 |
| 25–34 | 97.5 | 35.9 | 97.3 |
| 35–44 | 97.3 | 33.9 | 97.6 |
| 45–54 | 93.8 | 29.0 | 96.5 |
| 55–64 | 81.8 | 21.6 | 90.2 |
| 65+ | 54.7 | 11.9 | 58.3 |
| *Females* | | | |
| 15–19 | 38.0 | 5.6 | 26.6 |
| 20–24 | 32.0 | 4.6 | 42.4 |
| 25–34 | 31.2 | 5.2 | 27.8 |
| 35–44 | 31.2 | 5.7 | 22.6 |
| 45–54 | 23.3 | 4.4 | 20.4 |
| 55–64 | 13.4 | 3.0 | 16.1 |
| 65+ | 4.3 | 1.3 | 8.0 |

* Domestic servants among the Taiwanese, male and female, have been excluded.
Sources: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *15th Census of the United States, 1930, Population*, Volume V, *General Report on Occupations*. Chap. 4, Table 2.
*Taiwan—Census of 1930, Prefectural Volumes*, Table 15.

For reasons advanced above, data on occupations for women are less satisfactory. In Table 17, roughly one-third of the women in most ages up to 45 reported some occupation in 1930; but practically all stated that they were "farmers."[15] While superficially these figures appear to make a good showing against the data for the United States, the resemblance is misleading. In fact, on the basis of this information

besides Japan itself. But these events occurred too late to have much effect on the ages of starting work.

[15] Even for the few women who acknowledged occupations outside of agriculture, the specific kinds of work that occupied the bulk of this group are, suspiciously, the very ones that are usually conducted in households. For example, most of the "industrially employed" women were engaged in handicraft production (wood and bamboo articles, food processing, Panama hats) typically conducted on a household scale.

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one can really say next to nothing about the employment of Taiwanese women. Henceforth, except for special purposes, we shall confine ourselves to using occupational data for men only.

*Occupational Composition of the Male Labor Force*

With the outline of total employment among males of different ages now established, it is only a matter of course to follow up by showing the occupational composition of the same group. This amounts to a close view of the data in Chapter III, considered for the moment apart from the differences in age structure and differences in the extent of employment in various ages.

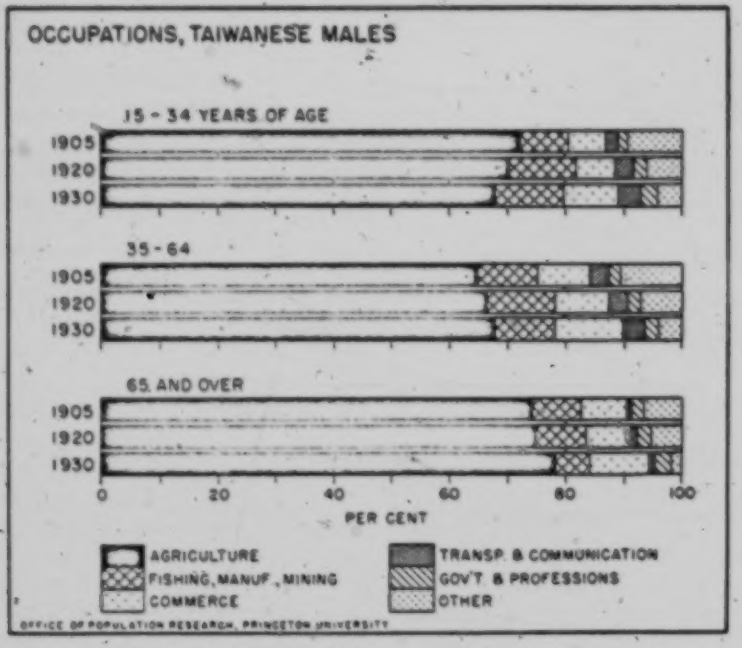


Fig. 12. Occupational Composition of Taiwanese, by Age, 1905-1930.

Even taken by separate age groups, Taiwanese men were performing the same types of work after 25 years of colonial rule as at the beginning. The situation can be efficiently summarized in Fig. 12, which bears out in some detail the evidence of the last chapter. As regards the whole of the male working population, the stability existing from one time to another was not exaggerated in Chapter III.